Opinion is represented If wily politicians get the

[CONTINUED FROM FOURTH PAGE] At the commencement of this Government, our population amounted to about four millions. It has now reached upwards of twenty millions. Our territory was limited chiefly and principally to that bordering upon the Atlantic ocean, and that which includes the southern shores of the

Theod 1

interior lakes of our country.

Our Territory now extends from the northern provinces of Great Britain to the Rio Grande and the Gulf of Mexico; from the Atlantic ocean on the one side to the Pacific on the other-the largest extent of territory under one Government existing upon earth, with only two solitary exceptions. Our tonnage, from being nothing, has arisen to a magnitude and amount to rival that of the nation which has been proudly called the mistress of the ocean. We have gone through many wars; one with that very nation from whom, in 1776, we broke off, as weak and feeble colonies, when we asserted our indepen-dence as a member of the family of nations. And. sir, we came out of that struggle-unequal as it was, armed as she was at all points in consequence of the long struggles of Europe, and unarmed as we are at all points, in consequence of the habits and nature of our country and its institutions - we came out of that war without the loss of any honor whatever; we emerged from it gloriously. In every Indian war-we have been engaged in many of them—our arms have been triumphant. And without speaking at all as to the causes of the recent war with Mexico, whether they were right or wrong, and abstaining from the expression of any opinion as to the justice or propriety of the war when it com-menced, all must unite in respect to the gallantry of our arms and the glory of our triumphs. There is no page—there are no pages of history which record more brilliant successes. With respect to the one in command of an impor-tant portion of our army, I need say nothing in praise of him who has been borne by the voice of his country to the highest station in it, mainly on account of his glorious military career. But of another military commander, less fortunate in other respects, I must take the opportunity of saying that for skill-for science-for strategy-for bold and during fighting-for chivalry of individuals and masses, that portion of the Mexican war which was conducted by the gallant Scott, as chief commander, stands unrivalled either by the deeds of Cortes himself or by those of any other commander in ancient or modern times.

Now, sir, let me go a little into detail as to the

sway in the counsels of the nation, whether of the North or the South, during the sixty years of unparalleled prosperity that we enjoy. During the first twelve years of the administration of the Government, Northern counsels rather prevailed; and out of that sprong the Bank of the United States; the assumption of the State debts; bounties to the fisheries; protection to the demestic manufactures-I allude to the act of 1789 neutrality in the wars with Europe; Jay's treaty alien and sedition laws; the quasi war with France. I do not say, sir, that those leading and prominent measures which were adopted during the administration of Washington and the elder Adams were carried exclusively by Northern counsels. They could not have been, but were carried mainly by the sway which Northern counsels tail cotained in the affairs of the country.

So, sir, with the latter party, for the last fifty

years, I do not mean to say that Southern counsels alone have carried the measures which I am about to enumerate. I know they could not ex-clusively have carried them; but I say they have been carried by their proponderating influence, with cooperation, it is true, and large cooperation. in some instances, from the Northern section of the Union. And what are those measures during the fitty years that Southern counsels have preted ? The embargo and other commercia restrictions of non-intercourse and non-imports tion; war with Great Britain; the Bank of the United States overthrown; protection to domestic the passage of the act of 1815 or 1816;) the Bank of the United States reëstablished , the same Bank put down; (reëstablised by Southern counsels and put down by Southern counsels;) Louisiana acquired; Florida bought; Texas annexed; war with Mexico; California and other Territories acquired from Mexico by conquest and purchase protection superseded and free trade established; Indians removed west of the Missouri; fifteen new States admitted into the Union. I may very possibly have omitted some of the important measures which have been adopted during the latter period or time to which I have referred—the last fifty years; but these I believe are the most prom-

Now, sir, I do not deduce from the enumeration of the acts of the one side or the other any just cause of reproach to the one side or the other although one side or the other has predominated in the two parties to which I have referred. It has been at last the work of both, and neither need justly reproach the other; but I must say in all candor and sincerity that last of all ought the South to reproach the North, when we look at the long list of measures we have had under our sway in the councils of the nation, and which have been adopted as the policy of the Government, when we reflect that even opposite doctrines have been prominently advanced by the South and carried A Bank of the United States was established under the Administration of Mr. Madison, with the cooperation of the South. I do not, when I speak of the South or North, speak of the entire South or North-I speak of the prominent and larger proportions of the South or North. It was during Mr Madison's Administration that the Bank of the Unit d States was established. My friend [Mr. Calhoun] whose sickness I again deplore, as it prevents us from having his attendance here upon this occasion, was the chairman of the com-mittee of the House of Representatives, and carried the measure through Congress. I voted for it with all my beart, although I had been instru-mental in putting down the old Bank of the Uni-ted States. I had changed my mind; and I cooperated in the establishment of the Bank of 1816. That same Bank was again put down by Southern counsels, with General Jackson at their head, at a later period. Then, with respect to the policy of protection; the South, in 1815-I mean the prominent and leading men of the South, Lowndes, Calhoun, and others-united in extending a certain measure of protection to the domestic manu fictures of the South, as well as of the North You find, a few years afterwards, that the South opposes the most serious objection to this policy, and at least one member of the Union staking upon that objection the dissolution of the Union.

Now, sir, let us take another view , and of these several views no one is brought forward in any spirit of reproach, but in a spirit of conciliation not to provoke or exasperate, but to quiet and produce harmony and repose, if possible. have been the territorial acquisitions made by this country, and to what interests have they conduced? Florida, where slavery exists, has been introduced. All the most valuable parts of Loueration of the slaveholding portion of the Union; for although there is a large extent of that territory north of 36° 30', yet, in point of intrinsic ralue and importance, I would not give the single enues of each portion of the dissevered empire, State of Louisiana for the whole of it. All Louist-no, with the exception of what lies north of 360 30' including Oregon, to which we have obtained title mainly upon the ground of its being follow, until some Philip or Alexander, some a part of the acquisition of Louisiana—all T xas, all the Territories which have been acquired by the Government of the United States during six ty years of the operation of that Government, have been slave Territories-theatres of slaverywith the exception I have mentioned lying north of the line of 36° 20'. But how was it in the case of a war made essentially by the South, growing out of the appeaation of Texas, which was a meas ure pressed by the South upon the councils of the try, and which led to the war with Mexico? I do not say of the whole South; but a major portion of the South pressed the annexation of Texas upon the country, and that led to a war with the ultimate acquisition of these Territories, which now constitute the bone of contention between the members of the Confede-And now, when, for the first time, any free territory - after these great acquisitions, in Florida, Louisions, and Texas, had been made and redounded to the benefit of the South-now, when, for the first time, free territories are attempted to be introduced-Territories without the institution of slavery-I put it to the hearts of my the event should ever happen? I implore gentlecountrymen of the South, if it is right to press men-I adjure them, from the South or the North, matters to the disastrous consequences that have by all they hold dear in this world-by all been intimated no longer ago than this very morn- their love of liberty-by all their veneration ing, upon the presentation of the resolution from North Carolina Well, sir, the first question which naturally

arises is, supposing the Union to be dissolvedhaving all the causes of grievance which are complained of-how far will a dissolution furnish remedy for those grievances? If the Union is to dissolved for any existing causes, it will be dissolved because slavery is interdicted or not allowed to be introduced into the ceded Territories ; because slavery is threatened to be abolished in the District of Columbia, and because fugitive hest blessing which Heaven can bestow upon me slaves are not returned, as in my opinion they upon earth, that if the direful and sad event of slaves are not returned, as in my opinion they ought to be restored to their masters. These I believe will be the causes, if there be any causes, which can lead to the direful event to which I

have referred. Well, now, sir, let us suppose that the Union has been dissolved. What remedy does it furnish for the grievances complained of in its united condition? Will you be able to push slavery into the ceded Territories? How are you to do it, supposing the North-all the States north of the nac, and which are opposed to it-in possession of the navy and army of the United States? Can you expect, if there is a dissolution of the

and New Mexico? You cannot dream of such a Indiana, That our Senators in Congress be inpurpose. If it were abolished in the District of structed, and our Representatives requested, so Columbia, and the Union was dissolved, would to cast their votes, and exert their influence, as the dissolution of the Union restore slavery in the District of Columbia? Are you safer in the recovery of your fugitive slaves in a state of discovery from Mexico, a provision forever in the Union itself? Why, sir, what is the state of the fact in the Union? You lose some slaves. You recover some others. Let me advert to a fact which I dught to have introduced before, because it is highly creditable to the courts and juries of the free States. In every case, so far as my in-formation extends, where an appeal has been made to the courts of justice for the recovery of fugitives or for the recovery of penalties in-flieted upon persons who have assisted in decoying slaves from their masters, and aiding ther escaping from their masters-as far as I an informed, the courts have asserted the rights of the owner, and the juries have promptly re turned adequate verdicts in favor of the owner. Well, sir, this is some remedy. What would you save if the Union were dissevered? Why, sir, then the severed parts would be independent of each other-foreign countries. Slaves taken from the one into the other would be then like slaves now escaping from the United States into Canada. There would be no right of extradition-no right to demand your slaves-no right to appeal to the courts of justice to demand your slaves which escape, or the penalties for decoying them. Where one escapes now, by running away from his own , hundreds and thousands would escape if the Union were severed in parts-I care not where nor how you run the line, if independent sover

ignties were established. Well, sir, finally, will you in a state of dissolu tion of the Union be safer with your slaves within the bosom of the States than you are now Mr. President, that they will escape much more frequently from the border States, no one will doubt,

But sir I must take the occasion to say that

in my opinion, there is no right on the part of

one or more of the States to secode from the Union. War and the dissolution of the Union are identical and inseparable. There can be no dissolution of the Union, except by consent or by war. No one can expect, in the existing state of things, that that consent would be given, and war is the only alternative by which a dissolution ould be accomplished. And, Mr. President, if onsent were given-if possibly we were to separate by mutual agreement and by a given time, in ess than sixty days after such an agreement had seen executed, wer would break out between the free and slaveholding portions of this Union-between the two independent portions into which it would be erected by virtue of the act of separa-Yes, sir, sixty days-in less than sixty days, I believe our slaves from Kentucky would be fleeing over in numbers to the other side of the river, would be pursued by their owners, and the excitable and ardent spirits who would engage in the pursuit would be restrained by no sense of the rights which appertain to the independence of the other side of the river, supposing it, then, to be the line of separation. They would pursue

their slaves; they would be repelled; and war would break out. 52 less than sixty days, war would be blazing forth in egery part of this now appy and peaceable land. But how are you going to separate them? In y humble opinion, Mr. President, we should beat least with three Confederacies-the Conederacy of the North, the Confederacy of the Atlantic Southern States, (the slaveholding States,) and the Confederacy of the valley of the Missis-My life upon it, sir, that vast population that has already concentrated, and will concentrate, upon the head waters and tributaries of the Mississippi, will never consent that the mouth of that river shall be held subject to the power of any foreign State whatever. ald be the consequences of a dissolution of the o, from time to time, as sedition and discontent ere disseminated over the country. There would be the Confederacy of the Lakes-perhaps the Confederacy of New England and the Middle

But sir the veil which covers these sad and disastrous events that lie beyond a possible rupture of this Union, is too thick to be penetrated or lifted by any mertal eye or hand.

Mr. President, I am directly opposed to any ourpose of secession, of separation. I am for stay-ng within the Union, and defying any portion of this Union to expel me or drive me out of the Union. I am for staying within this Union, and fighting for my rights—if necessary, with the the bounds and unde guard of the Union. I am for vindicating these rights, but not by being driven out of the Union rashly and unceremoniously by any portion of Here I am within it, and here I mean to stand and die; as far as my individual purposes or wishes can go—within it to protect myself, and to defy all power upon earth to expel me, or drive me from the situation in which I am placed. Will there not be more safety in fighting within the Union than without it ?

Suppose your rights to be violated; suppose wrongs to be done you, aggressions to be perpetrated upon you; cannot you better fight and vindicate them, if you have occasion to resort to that last necessity of the sword, within the Union, and with the sympathies of a large portion of the pop-ulation of the Union of these States differently constituted from you, than you can fight and vindicate your rights, expelled from the Union, and driven from it without ceremony and without au-

I said that I thought that there was no right on the part of one or more of the States to secode from this Union. I think, sir, that the Constitution of the thirteen States was made, not merely for the generation which then existed, but for posterity, indefined, unlimited-for their posterity, and for subsequent State which might come into he Union, binding themselves by that indissoluble bond. It is to remain for that posterity now and forever. Like another of the great relations f private life, it was a marriage that no human thority can dissolve or divorce the parties from and, if I may be allowed to refer to this same exaple in private life, let us say what man and life say to each other. We have mutual faults; nothing in the form of human beings can be perfect. Let us then be kind to each other, forbearing, conceding; let us live in happiness and

Mr. President, I have said what I solemnly beieve-that the dissolution of the Union and war are identical and inseparable; that they are convertible terms

Such a war, too, as that would be, following the dissolution of the Union! Sir, we may search pages of history, and none so furious, bloody, so implecable, so exterminating, from the wars of Greece down, including those of the Commenwealth of England, and the revolution of France-none, none of them raged with such violence or was ever conducted with such bloodshed and enormities, as will that war which shall folisiana have also added to the extent and consid- low that disastrous event-if that event ever happens-of dissolution

And what would be its termination? Standing ould be created; exterminating wars would fol low-not a war of two or three years, but of interminable duration-an exterminating war would Cresar or Napoleon, would rise to cut the Gordian knot, and solve the problem of the capacity of man for self-government, and crush the liberties of both the dissevered portions of this Union. you doubt it? Look at history-consult the pages of all history, ancient or modern; look at man nature-look at the character of the contest in which you would be engaged in the supposition of a war following the dissolution of the Union, such as I have suggested—and I ask you if it is possible for you to doubt that the fael but perhaps distant termination of the whole will be ome despot treading down the liberties of the people ?-that the final result will be the extinction of this last and glorious light, which is leading all mankind, who are gazing upon it, to cherish hope and anxious expectation that the liberty which prevails here will sooner or later be adranced throughout the civilized world? Can you, Mr. President, lightly contemplate the consequences? Can you yield yourself to a torrent of pession, amidst dangers which I have depicted in colors for short of what would be the reality, if for their ancesters-by all their regard for posterity - by all their gratitude to Him who has bestowed upon them such unnumbered blessings-by all the duties which they owe to mankind, and all the duties they owe to themselve - by all these considerations I implore them to pause—solemnly to pause—at the edge of the precipice, before the fearful and disastrous leap is in the yawning abyss below, from which

none who take it will ever return in safety. And, finally, Mr. President, I implore, as the the dissolution of the Union shall happen, I may not survive to behold the sad and heart-rending

On motion by Mr. Houston. The Senate then adjourned

INDIANA

The Legislature of Indiana has again instructed its Senators and Representatives on the Slapassed by it a few days before its adjournment:

of severance of the Union, than you are excluding from such territory, Slavery and In-nion itself? Why, sir, what is the state voluntary Servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party has been duly convicted.

SEC. 2. Be it further resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to forward to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, copies of this joint resolution at his earliest convenience

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 14, 1850.

THE ERA. THIS WEEK.

We have on hand and are receiving daily great variety of communications in prose and poetry, which it is utterly impossible for us to publish at present. They are all carefully stored for

This week the speech of Mr. Clay and the Congressional proceedings have left us little room for anything else. Having wholly dissented from Mr. Clay's plan of Compromise, it was nothing but fair to give his reasons in support of it. His speech, too, contains many admissions important to the advocates of Freedom, and many generous sentiments. His plan fails to secure the approbation of any considerable number of persons, in any section. The leading Whig journals of the free States, especially, are decided in their expressions of dissent.

The Senate is just now more excitable than the House. The reader will find much space devoted to its proceedings, some of which are quite dramatic. Messrs. Hale, Chase, and Seward, bear themselves gallantly.

The conduct of the Senate in relation to the petition for the peaceable dissolution of the Union, will provoke rather a contemptuous feeling in sober-minded people. Everybody knows that the signers of such petitions are but few, and have the least possible disposition to do harm to any living thing; and yet grave Senators vex themselves for three or four days with the question how to dispose of it, and at last, by way of demonstrating their marvellous devotion to the Union, unite in refusing to receive the obnoxious paper. Common sense, if not a respect for the right of petition, should have induced them to receive it without question or debate. But, we must presume that they are anxious to multiply such petitions, so that they may from time to time have occasion to make sophomorical orations heights of Bunker Hill, Revolutionary glories, torches, firebrands, temples, altars, and conflagra tions, to the great delight of Buncombe. Fudge!

"THE FRIEND OF YOUTH."

The Friend of Youth now numbers about four housand subscribers. It ought to have forty thousand. The fourth number was mailed some two weeks ago. The following is the table of con-

ORIGINAL. Who is God ?- Theodore Thoughtful The Two Ways .- T. S. Arthur. A Leaf from the Book of Memory -Mrs. S. W.

The Lost Child .- W. J. Chapin. On the Death of a Tropical Bird-Poem .- Mrs. W. Clarke. Acrostical Charade.- Elfa.

The Incredulous Child-Poem.-G. W. Light. Little Pink-Poem.-W. O. Bourne. The Bright Hour-Poem .- A. B. SELECTIONS.

A Temperance Pledge Two Hundred Years Old. Grand Banquet to the Potato. Danger of Early Drinking. Cost of Intemperance.

Varieties. EDITORIAL

Little Emma. Life's Changes-a Poem Work! Work! Work!

Patience in Suffering. My Son, Where are you Going?

The Generous Planter. The Stug, or Red Deer. The Bird of Paradise.

The price of the Friend of Youth is fifty cents a year, or five copies for two dollars. Back numbers can still be supplied.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

WILLIAM W. WOODWORTH, administrator of William Voodworth, deceased, is now petitioning Congress to extend his Patent for a Planing Machine for another long term. REPEATED EXTENSIONS of that Putent, are re quested to forward their remonstrances against the same to without any delay.

DR. FITCH, OF INDIANA.

We take pleasure in calling attention to the card of Dr. Fitch of Indiana, in this week's Era. A rote given in the House is a fact that goes on record; but the explanation may never go with it Meantime, we rejoice to see that he is true on the great question.

MR. WINTHROP.

In stating last week that Mr. Winthrop of Massachusetts absented himself, after the commencement of the calling of the roll on Mr. Root's resolution, till his name was passed, we may have given ground for the inference that he did not do the same thing on the resolution of Mr. Giddings. We have since learned, and it is but fair to state that, after the commencement of the calling of the roll on the last-named resolution, he again absented himself till his name was passed. We have no comments to add.

MANUFACTURING PUBLIC OPINION.

We have been told that the resolutions lately passed in Oneida county, New York, by a union meeting of Democrats, deprecating the agitation of the sectional questions, &c., were concocted in

Washington. A meeting of Democrats in Northampton county, Pennsylvania, was held on the 21st ultimo. at which resolutions in which the Wilmot Proviso was denounced, and the Baltimore Platform in relation to slavery was reaffirmed, were unanimously adopted. They were introduced by the Hon. Richard Brodhead, a fast friend of slavery, who chanced to be in Washington a short time before this meeting, where probably he received his instructions. From that time to this, Mr. Ex-Secretary Buchanan has been on hand, in the lobbies of Congress, being penetrated with profound anxiety for the fate, of the Union, and superintending with benevolent solicitude the voting of the Pennsylvania members. How many letters from the grand councillors in Washington are hourly passing to all parts of the country, urging similar demonstrations to those given in Onelda county, New York, and Northampton ounty, Pennsylvania?

We forgot to notice a meeting of the same stripe, somewhere in Ohio, some time ago, at which Ex-Representative Sawyer figured, in the paseage of resolutions of the genuine doughface jury trial. It has provided for his arrest by the stamp. He probably was notified from Washington that such a display would be of essential service, as showing that Northern sentiment was growing healthy again.

No sooner is such a meeting held, than the tiding are send to the Washington Union, in the columns of which the report is conspicuously heralded, and members of Congress from the free States are admonished of the reviving spirit of compromise among their constituents!

We trust that the people of the free States will be on the alert. Let them watch the demagogues | ties, is calculated, if not directly designed, to agvery Question. The following resolution was at home, and we will watch them here. Wher- gravate the excitement, and interpose new obstaever a meeting is called to manufacture Public cles in the way of the peaceful settlement of the SEC. 1. Be it resolved by the General Assembly of Opinion, let them be on hand to see that Public | Territorial Question.

start of them, let them follow up their demonstration with another which shall expose the trick. Let the friends of freedom bestir themselves. Let them get up meetings all through the country, to express their opinions of the conduct of the fifty Northern members who voted to lay the Wilmot Proviso upon the table, or dodged the question No time is to be lost. Mr. Clay, too, is appealing to the members from the free States, to abandon the Wilmot Proviso. He tells them that circumstances have changed since they were elected; that, were their constituents here, they would no longer persist in urging the Proviso; and he talks to them of the duty of risking something for the Union, reminding them of Leonidas and Curtius! We appeal to the People, too. Let them assem ble in primary meetings-let them say what they think of giving up the ground of the Ordinance of 1787, and adopting that of the Cass-Nicholson Letter. Let them say what they think of the nance it with infamy. vote by which, for the first time since the commencement of the present struggle between Liberty and Slavery, the Wilmot Proviso was laid upon the table in the House, hitherto relied upon as the safeguard of Freedom? Let them say whether their will, or that of General Taylor, is

THE BILL RELATING TO FUGITIVES FROM SERVICE OR LABOR.

base and ruinous compromises.

Sentiment be yet sound on the Question of Hu-

No free State has passed any laws to discharge fugitive from the service or labor he owes under the laws of another State, or to prevent his recapture or surrender. And this non-action is all that is required by the clause of the Constitution respecting fugitives, as interpreted by the Supreme Court. The provision imposes no active duty upon the States-it simply forbids or nullifies any legislation by the States which would attempt to discharge a fugitive from the service or labor he owes under the laws of another State. No such legislation exists-consequently, no State, as such, can be justly charged with a violation of this constitutional provision.

But it is urged that the free States, although forbidden to impede, are not forbidden to aid, the reclamation of fugitives. Whatever the Supreme Court might have intended, their decision went the whole length of denying to the States power to legislate upon the subject at all, and of asserting for Cangrees ext fre power over it. It je therefore, no just ground of complaint against the States, that they decline any action in regard to this provision of the Constitution.

Congress has legislated to carry it into effect Its legislation has been sanctioned by the votes of members from the free States. The act, prescribing the mode of arresting fugitives, defining the tribunals before which they must be brought, and determining the penalties for harboring them, aiding them to escape, or hindering their recapture, has been in existence for more than half a century. Nor is it a dead letter. Within s few years past, numerous fugitives have been arrested, and delivered up to claimants by the tri bunals provided by it, and within a year, verdicts have been found by juries, in United States Courts, sgainst some three citizens of as many free States, for violating the law, and heavy penalties have been inflicted.

To bring up the subject then at this hour while the two sections of the country are arrayed against each other on the Territorial Question to denounce the North for not doing what it is net bound to do; to feign grievances that have necessary, and will not be granted by at least one House in Congress, shows a determination only to multiply the obstacles in the way of a peaceful settlement of the great Question; to goad the North by arrogant demands, and inflame the South by representing resistance to such demands as an evidence of settled hostility to its rights. The authors of such measures, while professing peace, meditate war. They would add fuel to the fire already kindled. Mourning over the discord in our National Councils, deploring the growing irritation in the public mind, pretending to seek the perpetuity of the Union. their constant aim is, to bring into action conflicting interests, to develop latent antagonisms, to provoke gratuitous quarrels, to give promi nence to every question of difference between North and South.

In this spirit, we believe, the present movement in relation to fugitives from service and labor has originated. After all, what is the intolerable grievance

which we are called upon to redress? It is estimated, says Mr. Butler, that the loss sustained by the South, every year, from the escape of slaves, is not less than \$150,000. On what this estimate is grounded, we know not. The data are not given-nor do these ultra-slavery m n ever present the data on which they calculate their supposed orievances.

But, let us admit the correctness of the estimate. The whole South loses, in escaping slaves, \$150,000-which, apportioned among the fifteen slave States, is \$10,000 for each! This is a precious reason for dissolving the Union, and plunging into the untried horrors of civil war! Estimating the fugitives at \$400 a piece, there are, on the foregoing estimate, three hundred and seven ty-five slaves escaping from the South annuallyor twenty-five from each State. So, the Union with all its rich and sacred associations, with al the good with which it is frieghted, is to be destroyed, and these States are to be arrayed sgainst each other in deadly conflict, because the slave States lose yearly some twenty-five slaves each ! Look again : Are all these slaves enticed away by the free States? Nobody pretends this. How many of the citizens of those States have anything to do with such escapes? Few know anything about them. How many of these fugitives are prompted alone by their own instincts, and denend for success alone upon their own efforts Doubtless the majority of them. But, for the acts of the citizen, unknown and not sanctioned by the State, the State is held responsible; for the acts of a few philanthropic citizens, the great majority of the citizens who know nothing about them are held responsible; and for the escape of all the slaves, not only the Abolitionists, but all the citizens of the free States, and not only these, but the States themselves are held responsible, when in fact, the great majority of fugitives make good their escape without any other incitement than their own instincts, or any other aid than their

Now, how can laws be passed stringent enough to remedy effectually this alleged grievance Multiply your penalties, and you cannot diminish the number of slaves escaping by their own efforts-for no penalties can equal that which they have always risked -- a return to remediless bondage. Nor can you succeed better with those who in free States are accustomed to aid rather than hinder the fugitive. For, in the slave States and in a majority of the free, the testimony of colored persons, against white, is rejected.

Law has already done its best. It has denied the fugitive the benefits of the habeas corpus and most summary process, and for his delivery with the least possible delay. It has made the harboring, or aiding a fugitive, or interference between curing to the owner a right to prosecute for damages! And this law is in active operation.

In consideration of all these facts, we repeat, that the introduction of the subject at this time, with the accompanying denunciations of bad faith of the North, and additional demands for more effectual legislation, more vindictive penal-

CALIFORNIA ASKS ADDISSION.

Messrs. Wright and Gilbert, Representatives, and Dr. Gwin, one of the Senators from Californis, are now in the city. The President will, probably at an early moment send a message to Congress, informing it of the organization of the New York Tribune gives countenance to the folly! adoption of an amendment, making specific appronew State, and that her Senators and Representatives now await an ect which shall empower them to take their scats as members of that body. Of course, they will be admitted. The slavery men will resist, but they must yield on this point. The case is too plain to admit of an argument. Slave-Texas came in with an enormous boundary; with a provision that new States might be organized within her territory by her consent. Free California, with a boundary of no greater extent, must be admitted with a similar provision. The attempt to mutilate its boundaries, so as to provide foothold for slavery on the Pacific, will cover

From the following extract, which the Intelligencer quotes from the Washington Union, February 4, 1849, it would seem that the editors of Conventions in the several States, and pass some that paper are committed to the support of the such resolutions as the following : claims of the new States.

"The South denies that Congress has any ju to be the law of the representative. If Public risdiction over the subject of slavery, and contends that the people of the Territories alone, when they frame a Constitution preparatory to admission man Rights, let the People take care that it be into the Union, have a right to speak and be heard on that matter. This fact being settled, it really not misrepresented by those who, working in secret here, are attempting to manufacture a spuseems to us that this exciting question might be speedily adjusted, if calm counsels prevail. The South contends for her honor and for the great princirious Public Sentiment at the North in favor of ples of non-intervention and State equality. Why then, cannot all waite and permit California to come into the Union as soon as she can frame a constitution? Then, according to the doctrines which prevail o both sides of Mason and Dixon's line, she may constitutionally establish her domestic institutions on any basis consistent with republican principles. The South could lose nothing by adopting this course On the contrary, she would save all for which she con-

> California has formed a constitution, and now, we ask with the Union, why cannot all unite, and permit her to come in?

Meantime, we wish to direct the attention of the people to the mode in which the Doughfaces of the North, if there be any on this question will work against the cause of Freedom. They will not dare to oppose the admission of California, but they will either aid the slavery men in reducing the boundaries of the new State, so as to admit slavery into the territory torn from its jurisdiction; or they will aid them to amend the act for admitting it, so as to provide for the formation of a new slave State within the terrritorial limits of Texas; or they will be guilty of both these acts, and then tryeto excuse themselves to their constituents, on the plea that they could not secure the recognition of the State of California in any other way.

We hope such imposture will be exposed at once. The free States have thirty-nine majority in the House. They have an equality in the Senate; and on this question, the Whigs of the South in the House, if true to the policy of the Administration, must advocate the admission of California. In the Senate, the votes of the free States, with those from Delaware, Kentucky, &c., must secure the passage of the bill there. An effort may be made in the Senate to cut down the of California. boundaries, and couple the new free State with a new slave State, but let the House stand firm. Twice before has the other branch tried to compel it to yield on similar points, and twice has it. failed. It has the same majority now that it had on those occasions, and if it yield, the people shall know whom to hold accountable.

If the slaveholding members adhere to their doctrine of State rights; if they believe now, as they believed a year ago, when their organ published the editorial from which the foregoing is an extract; if they are anxious rather to save their opor, than to propagate slavery; if they are sincerely desirous of getting rid of agitation, they will raise no question about the admission of California, but unite with the Northern members in giving a hearty welcome to the Senators and Representatives from the first-born American State upon the shores of the Pacific. To repel them, will be hazardous-it will be to risk our entire Pacific empire-for before Heaven, were we a Californian, the moment the intelligence should reach us that the Congress of the United States had refused the application of our State for admission, thus throwing it back into territorial anarchy, we would strike for independence, boldly averring in justification the self-evident truths of the Declaration of 1776.

INTIMIDATION.

We have never known the system of intimidation pushed to such an extreme in our National threat-every speaker from the South seems to be one rule for both sections. think himself called upon to crack his whip about the ears of Northern members, who are treated like inferiors, not equals. No matter what the language or sentiment's of resolutions presented from the slave States, they are received with profound deference, and ordered to be printed. Vermont, presuming, as a sister State, upon a similar reception, is repelled with words of scorn. and, though one month ago her resolutions were presented, to this hour the Senate has not made up its mind whether it will print them or not!

And Northern Senators submit! Some people of Wilmington, North Carolina, get together, pass resolutions denouncing the fanaticism of the North, in favor of Slavery, and threatening the Union. Mr. Mangum takes oceasion to submit them to the Senate, accompanying them with a bitter assault on the free States. and threatening war, bloody war, should they persist in their aggressions. The Senate, overawed, graciously receives the papers, treating them with marked respect. But let a Northern Senator present a petition against the extension of Slavery, and the Senate refuses even to entertain the question of its reception! That body is cowed by the menaces of the slaveholders.

"We have but to show our teeth," said Mr. Holmes of South Carolina, the other day, " and the North is frightened." Great was the exultation among Southern members on the 5th, in the House, when so many Northern men voted to lay Root's resolution on the table. It was a triumph they had not anticipated quite so soon, not dreaming that their threats could accomplish so much all at once.

The Northern People, they presume, are like their Representatives. They regard them as shopkeepers; tame-spirited, eaten up with the love of gain. The Richmond Whig, of Virginia, commenting upon some belligerent remarks in the North American of Philadelphia, sneers at the grandiloquent talk of its editors, and coolly tells them that they "had better stick to the counter."

Twice in Congress have menaces of bloody conflict within the Capitol been thrown out by slaveholding members. In the Senate, Mr. Davis of Mississippi thought the struggle, if Northern men persisted in their aggressions, should commence " here and now," between the Representatives of the two sections. Mr. Clingman, in the House, thought if the worst came to the worst, that seeks to tread down the minority—that denot a quorum would be left in the Halls of Congress to do business.

While these brutal threats are common in both Houses, craven-spirited members from the create a panic among their constituents. Mr-Buchanan, a sort of lobby member, never feared before for the Union: he does now-melanhim and his lawful claimant, criminal, besides se- is shaken with alarms; and, conversing with one of the Indiana members, who has been taken under the special care of the South, he learns that in the event of a dissolution of the Union, the State of Indiana will go with the South! Letter-writers do their share to get up a Northern panic; and the newspapers in Northern cities give currency to all kinds of fearful rumors. The Southern men are determined, they say, to dissolve the Union, any how-they have marked off several Confederacies already—the seat of spoke sent a thrill through the Senate, and an parts of the country he comes several days before Government for the great slaveholding Confederate attempt at applause in the galleries, immediately but here, not until Christmas eve. He is a dread-

North does now, Disunion must come. One letter-writer goes so far as to say that, if necessary, six Southern Senators are prepared to vacate their seats, to let the Wilmot Proviso pass, so that the South may have a casus belli-and the

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selves to be imposed on by this transparent trickery? Or, admit that all these exhibitions of Southern wrath and determination are to be taken the President's message, on which Mr. Inge of in earnest-are they prepared to succumb, and Alabama delivered a speech in support of slavery excuse their Representatives for abandoning the Ordinance of 1787? If, under intimidation, they now give up free territory to Slavery, of what degradation are they incapable? What exactions will they not suffer, what burdens not bear? Is there anything more that slaveholders can ask, except the privilege of setting up Slavery within the boundaries of free States? If prepared to do any man from the free States who may counte- and suffer all the Slave Power demands, we hope they will say so, in some authentic way, so as to enable Congress to come to a speedy settlement of the controversy. Let them meet together in

That, as slaveholders will tolerate no Union in which their claims to supreme power is not acknowledged, therefore, we cheerfully assent to this claim, now and forever, provided they allow us, without molestation, to devote ourselves to the

plough, the loom, and the anvil. If this do not suit them, and if they really do cherish a purpose to maintain the rights of the majority, to keep free territory free, and secure the oscendency of the Principle of Freedom in the Federal Government, we submit whether they ought not to hold a Mass Convention of all the friends of Liberty throughout the country, on the 4th day of July next, or earlier, at some central point, when and where they may take into consideration the proceedings of the Convention of the Friends of Slavery, to be held at Nashville in June next.

STATE OF WISCONSIN.

The Old Line and Free Democracy have reunited in the Wisconsin Legislature, and, as the result, we may expect the passage of the resolutions introduced by Mr. Gale in the Senate, on the 17th January, when they were read twice and from the heard the political opinions of the wearer. ordered to be printed.

They instruct the Senators and request the Representatives of Wisconsin to support every just and prudent measure for the exclusion of slavery from the District of Columbia, for the entire suppression of the slave trade on the high seas, and wherever else Congress has jurisdiction. and generally to relieve the Federal Governord clest He is a man of dangerous political prinfrom all responsibility for the existence, mainteciples; a radical who, with all his fellows, seems nance, or toleration of slavery or the traffic in to have sworn a great oath to let their beards slaves; to use their influence, by direct vote or grow so long as they may be compelled to tarry otherwise, whenever an opportunity shall occur to in the Jericho of the monarchical form. The procure the application of the Ordinance of 1787 | bomb-King of Naples understands well the insurto all territory belonging to the United States; to rectionary tendency of long beards, for his first oppose by all legal and proper means the admission of any new State into the Union, when the laws or Constitutions thereof create or tolerate should appear with a beard more than an inch slavery, and to use all necessary means to pro- and a half long. General Van Wrangel did not cure the immediate admission of the new State | go qui'te so far, when he took military possession

On the 23d ult, these resolutions were taken the subject, but everybody knows that he authorup and unanimously adopted

OHIO.

In the Senate of Ohio, resolutions have been introduced by Mr. Lawrence of Logan, instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives of that State in Congress to use all constitutional and proper means to procure the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and in all places under the exclusive said he, "is for the right to smoke where one jurisdiction of the Federal Government; to resist | pleases." the admission of any new State which tolerates slavery ; to secure the passage of an act prohibiting the existence of slavery in any form, in the Territories of the United States, &c.

The probability is that strong resolutions will be passed. The resolutions have passed the

A SCENE IN THE SENATE.

Last Tuesday in the Senate, during the morning hour, Mr. Hale presented the petition of several hundred women of Dover, N. H., protesting against the extension of slavery or admission of any more slave States.

The question of reception was raised, but the usual motion to lay on the table failed. On this South protesting against action, he should now vote to receive this petition from the North. Councils as at present. Every demand is a which also protested against action. There should

> Mr. Butler of South Carolina tried his hand at following report will show :

Mr. Butler. Mr. President, I have petitions to offer, resolutions, and other matters, really requiring immediate action; otherwise there would be no necessity for acting upon them at all. sir, every morning a gentleman who is in the mi-nority is monopolizing the whole time of the Senate by petitions, such as this, breeding mischief and this without rebuke, and almost with the countenance of those who voted for these resoluions. Can this be tolerated, that the time of this Senate and the Legislature of the United States shall be appropriated by mischievous incendiaries who claim the right to introduce resolutions, memorials, and propositions of this kind to the Senate? Why, sir, I have business now that I think ought to engage the attention of the Senate, but I cannot bring it before them, for every morning glory of popularity. They are, indeed, the most that gentleman takes up the whole time. He has the whole Senate to himself. A mere minority comes here, and makes all this mischief, and stands unrebuked, so far as I can see, by the Senate. I know, sir, this is a part of his existence. I know that, in what I am now saying, I am giving him the food upon which he can feed. He lives upon mischief. It is the very food that sustains him. I know I am not rebuking him. Sir, it is mtolera ble, that a miserable minority, a mischievous in-cendiary, a madman, if you choose to call him so, should come here and interfere with the rights of other men upon this floor.

[Amidst cries of Order! Order! he sat down inflamed with passion |

Mr. Hale. I have a word to say, sir, to th Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Butler] He says that I live upon mischief, and that he gives me the food I live on. If that be the case, he is responsible for it, and not myself. But to be more serious; he is pleased to denounce me as a miserable minority, and complains of my trespassing upon the privileges of the Senate. I leave that question to be decided by the community, who it is that trespasses upon the time of the Senate. Sir, he will have to talk longer, and denounce more, before he can convince me that this has

been my prerogative. "taken up the whole time of the Senate!" Have I, sir? For two mornings, and only two, have I presented anything of the kind since the year 1850 commenced; one of them was the other day, and the other was this morning. So far was I from saying anything to take up your time, that I confined myself simply to stating what the nature of the petitions was. The talk did not come from the "miserable minority," but from a majority. I will not apply any adjective to them, but I have enough at hand, that I could use if I chose. The mischief comes from a majority, things which will attract your notice is the imsires to make them more miserable than they really are. "Miserable" as we are, I think the Senator will find out that our power of speech is not exhausted; and while we may exercise it within the privileges of the Constitution, he will North are writing home letters calculated to find that it will be exercised at any and at all

We are not to be frightened out of our righst upon this floor by denunciation, or even by the threat of danger personal to ourselves. Small choly are his forebodings. General Cass, too, and few as we are, we are not miserable cowards that can be frightened from the assertion or the maintenance of our rights. New Hampshire blood, coursing in New Hampshire veins, from the commencement of this Government, in the Senate, in the House of Representatives, and upon the field of battle, has attested her rights; and she has sons that will still vindicate those rights against all her foes, come when they will, how they will, and where they will. She will not be intimidated by threats, or any language of the

[The stern emphasis with which Mr. Hale

racy is determined upon-no matter what the suppressed by the Vice President, showed the sympathy of the spectators.

The petition went over, and Mr. Berrien reumed his speech on Mr. Clay's resolutions. In the House, the business relating to the collection of the revenue was disposed of by the

Will the People of the free States permit them- printions, moved by Preston King. The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and took up

EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENCE.

water a few mornings which bit your noses shart

Berlin, Christmas, 1849; To the Editor of the National Era: You have, perhaps, had on your side of the

ly, and made thick gloves, muffs, and cloaks in dispensable to persons well to do in the world. But in this city of broad streets, set in the midst of a plain which stretches for away beyond Saint Petersburgh, and up to the very icebergs of the Arctic seas, we know what cold weather means The thrilling breezes from the region of white bears and eternal snow come cutting into every individual pore of one's face and hands, whistling as they cut, as merrily as ice-choppers. The streets are covered with a layer of solid ice, and the boys go flying along on skates over the public squares and through the most crowded thorough fares. Respectable, staid persons, old gentlemen with gold-headed canes, thin-slippered, blue-nosed spinsters, wrapped up in furs, are tripping up and falling down in every direction. As frogged shoes are not much in use, the horses go slipping along, and tumbling down occasionally on the pavement Now and then a brisk flurry of snow and wind from the north makes it next to impossible to see further than the end of one's nose. Everybodypeople too poor to be anybody are, of course, not referred to, for poor people in Prussia are just nobody at all-goes about so disguised in cloaks. big shoes, and warm fur caps, as not to be recognisable by any except their tailors. All that is visible, at this season, of a German taking his morning walk, is a reddish beard with a huge pipe hanging out of the middle of it. This is better than to see nothing at all; for, if you have lived long enough in Europe, you can easily infer Is it short, stiff, and well brushed? He is a conservative, who entertains a holy horror of the unwashed democracy. Has it taken the form of a six-inch moustache, whose ends stand out stiff and fiercely? He is a soldier, and one of the pillars of the royalty. Is it a rusty, untrimmed one, of two years' growth, all horrent with ici-

long-bearded gentry. Every German smokes in the streets. This is one of the liberties conquered in 1848, which have been left untouched by the fury of the reaction. At one of the illuminations of that ever memorable year, a citizen stuck up in his window one light for each popular right acknowledged by the King. The central one was immense. "This,

measure, on regaining possession of Sicily, was to

order every man to be severely punished who

of Berlin last year, as to impose a public order on

ized privately the persecution of every one of the

But notwithstanding the cold the annual Pai is thronged from one end to the other. For fourteen days before Christmas, and as many after . the whole length of Broad street, and the two large squares north and south of the palace, are occupied by the toy merchants, and Christmastree merchants, who come nobody knows where from, and put up in a few hours a whole city of booths of plank and canvass. These are filled with toys of an infinite variety, both of form and workmanship. Everything that has ever been devised for the delight of little people and the annoyance of big ones, may be found here. No carriages are permitted to pass through the alleys formed by the booths, except the royal ones, which are driven through slowly, to avoid hurting anybody. And really, when the booths are motion, Mr. Douglas took the ground that, as the lighted up in the evening, and the light is reflect-Senate had decided to receive petitions from the ed from millions of gay and glitering toys, and the alleys are crowded with thousands of happy parents and children, the sight might well tempt a king. It is doubtful whether the carnival at

The Fair is not the only sign of our being in putting down Mr. Hale, with what success, the the Christmas holydays. In twenty different halls in the city, the most extensive preparations have been made to receive visites. Some of them have been turned into Moorish palaces of surpass. ing beauty; others into galleries of grotesque paintings, caricaturing the well-known men of the day, or their acts; others, again, represent the different elements, and, by a chaotic arrangement of striking productions of nature, astonish and bewilder the beholder. Everything was to be seen there, from the volcano actually belching fire and lava, to whales and sea-lions. But in all of them, the great attraction is the puppet-show. glory of popularity. They are, indeed, the most comical creatures alive; saying the funniest things, walking about in the oddest manner, and making incredible bows and gestures! The Punch theatre is not so good for children who get the side-ache a-laughing, but excellent for old folks who are not too stiff to enjoy it. The merriment of children is contagious, and I must acknowledge a deep indebtedness to Punch in the matter of happy moments. The Germans all go and seem, young and old, to join in the mirth without restraint.

Rome shows anything better worth seeing.

This is the best season of the year for the shops and stores. They are all crowded, for everybody is buying something for presentseverybody you meet in the street is carrying something home. If you go musing along, intent on gathering up items for a newspaper article, you get a poke in the ribs from the rocker of a hobby-horse. As you sidle away, the green branches of a Christmas-tree whip you in the face, and knock off your hat; you recover the unlucky beaver from under the feet of the crowd, but, in rising, upset a whole tray full of little chocolate horses, and funny-looking cows, sheep and other animals, which have no resemblance to anything living, the race having probably perished before the flood, and only existing in the fossil and chocolate toy states. At each new mishap you cry, " Ich bitte!" after the fashion of the Germans. The best way, if you are given to things which will attract your notice is the immense gingerbread hearts carried along by you These vary from the size of oven tops to that of tea-table tops, and are destined for the servants of the different houses. The right to receive one at Christmas is a principal article in the Bill of ights of all German housemaids.

The German theory of Christmas present Rights of all German be

wholly different from ours. All children are taught to believe that the Saviour in his carlier years, and as he played with his schoolmates, brings them. He is called the Christ-Child. brings them. He is called the Christ-Child. Every family celebrates the day, and every one has its Christmas tree, be it never so poor. In families of the middle and higher classes, a chamber is set apart, and is kept locked for a few days before Christmas eve. The presents are carried into this by the person who has the key, and is charged with the arrangement of the deco-rations. Their existence is kept carefully concealed from the young people.

The Christ-Child has a forerunner in the person of the Rumknecht, as he is called here, the name being a corruption of the Knecht Ruprecht.

name being a corruption of the Knecht Ruprecht. On the Rhine, he is called Pelynickel. In some